

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 156596 TOSEC 050103

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ORIGIN EUR-12

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DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:RHFROWICK/JMADDEN

APPROVED BY EUR:AAHARTMAN

C:HSOHNENFELDT

NSC:DCLIFT

L:SMSCHWEBEL

S/S:CABORG

PM:GVEST

S:PEBARBIAN

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O 022207Z JUL 75 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 156596 TOSEC 050103

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJECT:ACTION MEMORANDUM -- CSCE: FOLLOW-UP

- (S/S NO. 7513364)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN THROUGH SONNENFELDT

1. THOUGH CSCE NEGOTIATIONS ON FOLLOW-UP HAVE ONLY RECENTLY BEGUN, THEY ARE ACCELERATING RAPIDLY. THUS, WE NEED YOUR GUIDANCE ON WHETHER TO JOIN WITH OUR ALLIES IN WHAT MAY SOON BE A CONSENSUS ON A FOLLOW-UP TEXT COVERING ALL ASPECTS OF CSCE -- INCLUDING POLITICAL/SECURITY QUESTIONS.

2. SWEDEN, CHAIRING THE RESPONSIBLE CSCE WORKING GROUP, TABLED JUNE 27 A DRAFT FOLLOW-UP PROPOSAL WHICH HAS BEEN WELL RECEIVED BY ALL SIDES AND COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 156596 TOSEC 050103

FINAL COMPROMISE WITHIN A FEW DAYS. THE SWEDISH TEXT

ACCORDS WITH DANISH POSITION, SUPPORTED BY US, IN CALLING FOR: A PREPARATORY MEETING (APPROXIMATELY 18 MONTHS AFTER STAGE III) TO ORGANIZE A FIRST MEETING OF SENIOR OFFICIALS IN 1977 (ABOUT 24 MONTHS AFTER STAGE III WITH SCHEDULING OF FURTHER MEETINGS STILL TO BE DETERMINED); CONTINUITY OF DECISION-MAKING BY RULE OF CONSENSUS; ROTATION OF

FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS AMONG CSCE CAPITALS; AND NO REPEAT NO COMMITMENT TO ESTABLISHMENT OF PERMANENT MACHINERY.

3. WHILE SWEDISH TEXT GENERALLY ACCORDS WITH OUR OBJECTIVES, THE LONG-HELD US POSITION THAT FOLLOW-UP SHOULD CONTAIN NO POLITICAL/SECURITY CONTENT MUST BE REVIEWED SINCE CSCE IS CLEARLY HEADED TOWARD AGREEMENT ON FOLLOW-UP ARRANGEMENTS THAT WILL DEAL WITH ALL ASPECTS OF THE CONFERENCE. OTHERWISE, WE STAND TO BE COMPLETELY ISOLATED FROM BOTH OUR ALLIES AND THE SOVIETS. THE EARLIER NSC POSITION AGAINST POLITICAL/SECURITY CONTENT HAD BEEN BASED ON THE THEORY THAT MOSCOW MIGHT USE FOLLOW-UP TO ATTEMPT TO WEAKEN ATLANTIC ALLIANCE UNITY OVER A PERIOD OF TIME BY INTERFERING IN WESTERN POLITICAL PROBLEMS. WHILE THIS REMAINS A REAL PRE-OCCUPATION, WE BELIEVE FOLLOW-UP MIGHT ALSO BE EXPLOITED BY WESTERN SIDE TO KEEP SOVIETS' FEET TO THE FIRE ON POLITICAL AND SECURITY PROBLEMS. MORE IMPORTANTLY, SINCE CSCE BENEFITS TO THE WEST -- ESPECIALLY IN BASKET 3 -- ARE EXPECTED TO TAKE SHAPE ONLY OVER THE LONG HAUL, IT COULD BE ARGUED THAT IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO FAVOR POST-CSCE FOLLOW-UP ARRANGEMENTS. CERTAINLY, OUR ALLIES ARE ARGUING THAT THIS IS THE CASE. ON BALANCE, WE CONCLUDE THAT FOLLOW-UP RESULT ALONG LINES OF SWEDISH TEXT ADEQUATELY MEETS OVERALL REQUIREMENTS OF THE ALLIANCE. WE, THEREFORE, BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO JOIN ALLIES IN SUPPORTING A CONSENSUS ON FOLLOW-UP ARRANGEMENTS EMBRACING ALL ASPECTS OF CSCE.

5. RECOMMENDATION. THAT YOU AUTHORIZE TRANSMISSION OF CABLE INSTRUCTING US DEL CSCE TO CONTINUE TO FOLLOW ALLIES' LEAD ON FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSIONS AND TO JOIN CONSENSUS ON FINAL TEXT ON FOLLOW-UP, ONCE IT IS CLEAR
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 156596 TOSEC 050103

THAT ALL OTHERS IN NATO CAUCUS ARE PREPARED TO DO SO.

6. DRAFT MESSAGE TO GENEVA FOR US CSCE DEL. BEGIN TEXT.

SUBJECT: CSCE: FOLLOW-UP.

WE AGREE WITH ASSESSMENT OF US DEL AND ALLIES THAT SWEDISH FOLLOW-UP TEXT TABLED JUNE 27 CONTAINS MANY

POSITIVE ELEMENTS AND OFFERS USEFUL BASIS FOR FINAL
COMPROMISE.

IN PRESENTLY ACCELERATING NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT,
YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO FOLLOW LEAD OF EC NINE, MAIN-
TAINING PARTICULARLY CLOSE CONTACTS WITH DENMARK AND UK

AND BEARING IN MIND OUR DESIRE TO AVOID ESTABLISHMENT
OF PERMANENT MACHINERY.

ONCE IT IS CLEAR THAT ALL ALLIES ARE PREPARED TO JOIN
CONSENSUS ON FINAL COMPROMISE ALONG LINES OF SWEDISH
TEXT, US DEL MAY ALSO JOIN CONSENSUS. END MESSAGE TO
GENEVA.

APPROVED DISAPPROVED

7. CLEARED: NSC:DCLIFT, L:SMSCHWEBEL.

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